December 1951

Fellowship

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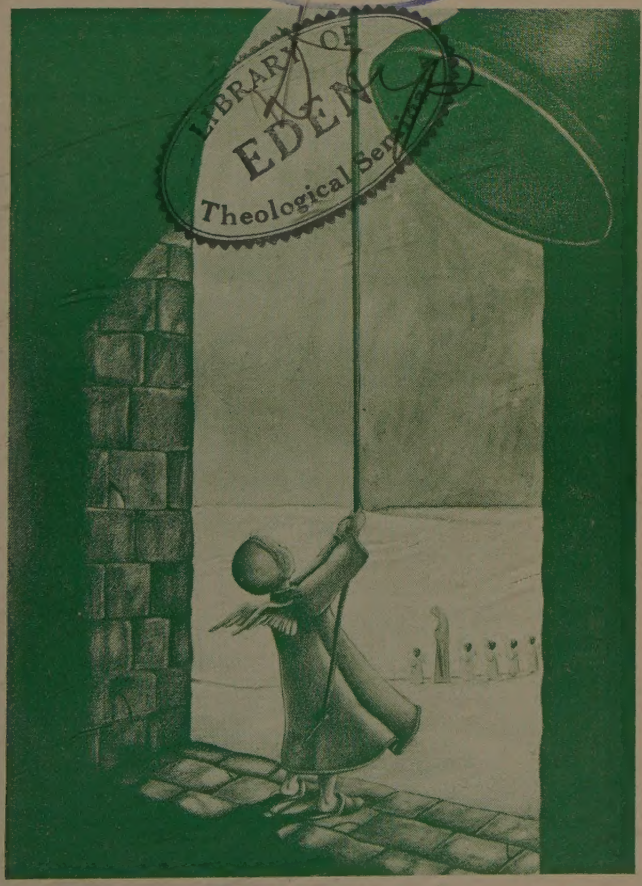

They Came to Grips with Cicero, by Homer Jack

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ff The cover is another of the paintings of Hans Herzog, the Swiss artist who did the Fellowship Christmas card. With it come the very best wishes and affection of all of the staff to all of you. . . . This Christmas issue includes a number of Christmas poems, all by FOR member-poets, and a story, "The Toymaker," by the editor. . . . Homer Jack, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Evanston, does a report on the Cicero riots and the work of FOR staff members out there. . . . Orval Etter, Far West secretary, reviews a number of books and in the process recalls the events that led up to that fateful December 7 a decade ago, in "The First Casualty." . . . Ordinarily we try to stay away from reprints from other publications, but because we don't think any Fellowship reader should miss Milton Mayer's "The Christer," we are going to reprint this moving "life story" of A. J. Muste in the January issue. You will certainly want to read it. . . . Also John Swomley on Yugoslavia; A. J. Muste himself on Simone Weil's recent book; and an authentic story of pacifist action with the Russians in Berlin, by Heinz Kraschutski.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2 a year

Fellowship
the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

December, 1951 Vol. XVII—No. 11

The First Casualty . . .

By ORVAL ETTER

In September, 1941, the American destroyer *Greer* and a German submarine exchanged shots in the Atlantic. President Roosevelt immediately broadcast to the American people "the blunt fact that the . . . submarine fired first upon this . . . destroyer without warning and with deliberate design to sink her." The *Greer*, according to Roosevelt, was carrying American mail to Iceland, flying the American flag, and unmistakably American in identity.

Several weeks later Admiral Harold Stark gave a Senate committee an account of the incident:

At 8:40 A.M. a British plane notified the *Greer* that a submarine was submerged ten miles ahead on the destroyer's course. The *Greer* put on speed and zigzagged to the reported location. As soon as it detected the submarine's propeller beat it commenced to track the submarine, broadcasting its location to British planes and destroyers that might be in the vicinity. This, Stark explained, was in compliance with orders to the *Greer* to give out information but not to attack. About two hours after the pursuit began the plane dropped depth charges, which missed their mark. Twenty minutes later the plane withdrew. For almost two hours longer the *Greer* continued to trail the submarine. The submarine then changed its course, closed in on the *Greer*, and fired a torpedo, which missed. The *Greer* counter-attacked, apparently without success.

On the basis of this account William Henry Chamberlin[1] charges that "Roosevelt misrepresented this incident as a wanton, unprovoked attack on the American vessel." In-

1 In his book, *America's Second Crusade*, Henry Regnery, 1950.

formation revealed about the *Greer* and similar incidents led Charles Beard to conclude that "if the precedents set by . . . Roosevelt . . . are to . . . be accepted henceforth as valid in law and morals then . . . the President . . . may publicly represent to Congress and the people that acts of war have been committed against the United States, when in reality the acts . . . were secretly invited and even initiated by the armed forces of the United States under his secret direction."[2]

How Many Myths?

In the light of evidence and charges like these, how much lore about the origins of World War II now appears factual and how much mythical? The question has arisen repeatedly and will need to be raised again and again so long as evidence on the origins of the War accumulates. The question has special timeliness at this tenth anniversary season of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

Ever since the attack the lore about the origins of the War has been subject to what may be called, in historians' parlance, "revisionism" or exposing war myths. This "readjustment of historical writing to historical facts" may not yet have done to World War II lore what the revisionism of the 1920's did to World War I. For almost a decade, though, students of public affairs have been unearthing a new crop of war myths. The process is sure to continue for years to come.

Many persons and agencies have contributed to it. Pacifists, nonpacifist critics of the Roosevelt administration, public figures during the last twenty years, the military and congressional agencies that investigated the Pearl Harbor disaster, a variety of publicists, and even champions of Roosevelt and his policies have produced material on the origins of World War II.

Out of this mass of material, Chamberlin's and Beard's books, and several others, afford the most useful compilations for the average reader who wishes to explore extensively the myths about the origins of the War. All five are replete with documented charges that falsehoods and half-truths about this country's foreign policy and military activities have been peddled in wholesale fashion to the American people during the last fifteen years.

Charles A. Beard, the noted historian, reviews eight years of public pronouncements, particularly on the issue of American "isolationism" versus internationalism, including, by way of introduction, a quick survey of the years 1916-1931.[3] In the course of all this the author of *Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels* climbs into the ring and slugs away at a formidable array of opponents.

Typical of Beard's revisionism are these rejoinders:

1. In 1945 Senators Connally and Pepper, numerous periodicals, and most scholarly of all, Thomas Bailey's *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal,* were charging that World War II resulted from impotence of the League of Nations, which resulted from refusal of the United States to join the League, which resulted from isolationist obstructionism of a "little band of

[2] *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941,* by Charles A. Beard. Yale University Press, 1948.

[3] *American Foreign Policy in the Making,* 1932-1940, by Charles A. Beard. Yale University Press, 1948.

wilful men" in the Senate in 1919. Beard, documenting his rejoinder in part with more than thirty statements from Bailey's book, answers that responsibility for this country's failure to join the League rests not only on the Senate but also on President Wilson and on an American public disillusioned with secret agreements revealed late during World War I. He quotes Bailey to the effect that one is reduced to considerable speculation in any attempt to ascertain whether the League would have kept the peace better if the United States had been a member.

2. Soon after V-J Day President Truman stated, "Every time . . . President [Roosevelt] made an effort to get a preparedness program through Congress, it was stifled." Beard answers with figures showing that during the eight years before this country entered World War II Congress appropriated approximately $1,875,000,000 more for preparedness than Roosevelt asked for. During five of the eight years Congress did fail to appropriate as much as Roosevelt asked for, but in no instance did the shortage exceed six percent of the amount requested.

3. In 1943 the State Department declared that "early [in the decade 1931-1941 the President and Secretary of State] became convinced that . . . our foreign relations should be so conducted as to give all possible support to the nations endeavoring to check the march of Axis aggression." Most of *American Foreign Policy in the Making* is Beard's documented rejoinder that, if the President and Secretary of State actually did arrive early during the decade at the alleged conviction, they kept it from the people and in public utterances continued throughout 1932-1940 to deny abandoning their foreign policy of neutrality in foreign quarrels.

Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor*[4] summarizes and comments on the hearings and findings of the congressional committee that investigated the Pearl Harbor disaster. His point of view corresponds to that of the minority and supplemental reports filed by three committee members.

Anti-War Pledges

His contribution to our knowledge of war myths can be illustrated by his charges of duplicity on the part of Roosevelt. According to Morgenstern, during the 1940 presidential campaign Roosevelt did not believe certain anti-war pledges he was making could be kept. Furthermore, Morgenstern declares, for months before Pearl Harbor Roosevelt misrepresented himself to the American people as doing his best to keep the country out of war, when in reality he wanted American intervention and was hoping for an incident that would openly put the country into the war and unify public support behind such participation.

These obviously are accusations of the gravest character. How does Morgenstern back them up?

Much of his documentation consists of the long and involved diplomatic maneuvers with Japan during most of 1941 in which the Administration failed to avail itself of opportunities to enter into negotiations with Japan, failed to accede to repeated, urgent pleas and recommendations for a personal confer-

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4 *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, by George Morgenstern. Devin-Adair, 1947.

ence between the President and Premier Konoye, imposed economic sanctions of the most crippling sort against Japan, and finally broke off negotiations with an ultimatum that no one in the Administration felt Japan would receive with any move other than an act of war.

No Foreign Wars!

More specifically and less subject to interpretation, Morgenstern cites two statements that the President made in October, 1940. On the 8th, according to Admiral J. O. Richardson, ". . . I asked the President if we were going to enter the war. He replied that . . . the Japanese . . . sooner or later . . . would make a mistake and we would enter the war." Within the month the President broadcast to the nation the famous pledge, "I . . . say . . . again and again and again: Your sons are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

In June, 1941, Joseph Alsop, a relative of Roosevelt and a columnist in close touch with the White House, in collaboration with another columnist, wrote: "(Roosevelt) hopes to drive the Germans to shoot first. . . . The problem was mentioned in this space in a recent discussion of the Atlantic patrol in which it was pointed out that the President and the men around him privately hoped that the patrol would produce an incident. No man can doubt the German high command will do everything possible to avoid shooting first." Morgenstern quotes this statement and high naval correspondence of about the same time as evidence of the Administration's hope for an Atlantic incident that would serve as a pretext for American intervention.

Secretary Stimson's well-known diary entry regarding the Cabinet meeting of November 25, 1941, thirteen days before Pearl Harbor, is also quoted: ". . . the President [said] that we were likely to be attacked, perhaps next Monday, for the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning and the question was what should we do. The question was how we should maneuver them into . . . firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves."

Chamberlin, in *America's Second Crusade,* has made a critical evaluation of American diplomacy from the outbreak of World War II until the outbreak of the Korean war. It is "popularly" written and extremely useful for the average peacemaker's bookshelf. Several chapters in the middle of the book deal with the origins of World War II.

Cockleshell Warships

The thesis that Roosevelt wanted for months before Pearl Harbor to involve the United States in World War II and to that end tried to arrange some incident that would accomplish his purpose and unify opinion back of intervention is developed at length in Sanborn's six-hundred-page book.[5] To substantiate this charge he cites much evidence that Morgenstern cites but tells in greater detail of the "cockleshell warships."

These were three small vessels which Roosevelt ordered out from Manila on "defensive information patrol" in the waters near Indo-China. To insure that the vessels would be established as United States men-of-war they were to be

[5] *Design for War: A Study of Secret Power Politics 1937-1941,* by Frederic Sanborn. Devin-Adair, 1951.

commanded in each instance by a naval officer and to be mounted with "a small gun and 1 machine gun." The three were to be stationed at designated points. These were so located that at least one of the vessels was almost sure to come into contact with the Japanese forces which the Administration was certain were or soon would be sailing southward on the next expected Japanese move of aggression.

For Reconnaissance

Sanborn comments: "What a 'smart' plan . . .! First, the beguiling and misleading name, adapted from the one first used in the Atlantic—'defensive information patrol.' Next, the use of the American flag, and the attempt to convert these pitifully '*small*' chartered vessels into 'U. S. men-of-war.' Next, the provocation offered. These vessels were to be 'stationed,' that is, put in fixed positions (perhaps anchored), in what was believed to be the principal and direct path of the Japanese advance. There they were 'to observe and report by radio,' no mention being required of the use of code, the 'Japanese movements.' Next, the lack of need for sending out these little 'men-of-war.' The *Isabel* . . . was merely a converted yacht. . . . Planes from Manila were conducting frequent reconnaissance, and getting from these searches what the Navy believed was 'sufficient information.' Indeed the Navy pointedly stated that it 'did not initiate this movement,' and 'would not have done this unless' Mr. Roosevelt had specifically ordered it to be done. Guardedly answering a question, Admiral Hart hinted that in his opinion these small vessels were *not* being sent out for patrol purposes. . . . Finally, note the combination of frugality and of helplessness, presumably for emphasis in the ensuing indignant publicity—'a *small* gun and one machine gun would suffice.' Such miserably small vessels would be at the utter mercy of any Japanese warship whatsoever in a hopelessly unequal and foredoomed encounter. And such vessels . . . would represent no substantial loss to the nation's naval strength. It is small wonder that, having personally directed the issuance of such an order, Mr. Roosevelt had a 'terrible moral problem' on his conscience for the rest of the week."

No casualties came of this because only one of the ships ever departed on the mission, and she such a short time before Pearl Harbor that she returned to Manila at once without ever reaching her destination.

Plenty of Drama

With material like this Beard, Morgenstern, Chamberlin, and Sanborn devote a couple of thousand pages to exposing a new crop of war myths in United States history. Their books, as might have been expected, have been subject to sharp attacks. Nor are they above criticism from the pacifist point of view. To anyone, though, who has doubts about them, I say, "Get them and read them carefully. They offer plenty of drama. When you have finished with any one of them, see if you do not agree with one of Roosevelt's admirers, Thomas Bailey, when he writes in *The Man in the Street*, 'Franklin Roosevelt repeatedly deceived the American

people (about American foreign policy) during the period before Pearl Harbor.'"

It has long been a platitude in the peace movement that "truth is the first casualty in any war." So far as the role of the United States in World War II is concerned, truth was a casualty long before the shooting began.

Just So It Snowed on Christmas

What they told us on Christmas was all right.
They put the town on like an old coat and wore it.
That was all right.
They said hello, and poor people walked by.
They gave awards to leading citizens,
  who took those awards.
Everyone said: Honesty is the best policy.
  It pays to advertise.
  The best defense is a good offense.
That was all right—
  just so it snowed on Christmas.

They went to the movies of Austria and Poland
  and France,
  and the Negroes sat in the balcony.
That was all right—
  just so the family could be together on Sunday.

There were fast bright cars and beggars
  on the streets.
Factories sold things in countries never heard of.
  (The Marines knew of those countries.)
That was all right.
The children fought the whole world—
  and won only when they grew up,
  coming into their own.
That was all right—
  just so the kids were cute and innocent.

The old were everywhere, selling papers.
And some were tired, while others played.
That was all right.
Some one would manage.
It was all all right—
  Just so it snowed on Christmas.

—William E. Stafford

The Toymaker

By ALFRED HASSLER

"Santa Claus frowns on atomic bomb toys for children this year, toy manufacturers said today. 'People now would rather their children never heard about war and such things,' one toymaker said."—News item.

THERE WAS A FURORE that day in the War-Toys Subcommittee of the Toymakers' Guild. The regular weekly meeting was packed ten minutes before it was scheduled to begin, and angry exclamations punctuated the usual hum of voices.

Precisely at two o'clock the chairman rapped his gavel for order. His face was a thundercloud: heavy brows drawn so low as almost to mask the glittering eyes that sometimes seemed a soft and gentle brown but now were black and hard. In the face of the chairman's majestic anger even the noisiest of the members looked awed.

"Gentlemen," said the chairman forcefully, "I do not think we need any prolonged discussion today. I know we all feel equally and righteously indignant over this calamitous thing that has happened, and not solely, or even principally, because of the effect it will have on our businesses. No, gentlemen, our business has always meant far more than profits to us. It has meant jobs for thousands of workingmen and women, and the higher American standard of living that those jobs bring. But it has meant, even more, a share in raising a strong, cleancut youth for our beloved country, imbued with patriotism, psychologically prepared to defend their freedom if they are called upon to do so, and healthfully familiar with the great traditions and the mighty implements of military service."

The chairman paused to acknowledge the roar of applause that swept the room. When it had died down he continued, more quietly but with no less earnestness.

"We could spend our time this afternoon exchanging indignant comments," said the chairman, "and perhaps wind up passing a resolution, but that would not help us any. I am of a mind, gentlemen, to take more effective action."

The room was deathly quiet now, and the other toymakers listened tensely.

"You know as well as I," said the chairman, "that this action of the parents is not accidental, nor can it be called purely spontaneous. You know who is responsible for this childish action, who is the leader of this parents group. I propose to see *him*, and I propose to see him this afternoon and have it out with him!"

The response of his audience was enthusiastic and prolonged, and the members still were applauding vigorously as the chairman swept from a chair the long black cape

and black hat he affected and strode from the room.

ONLY A FEW MINUTES LATER the Toymaker's handsome sedan pulled smoothly up to the curb of one of the city's quieter streets. Smooth green lawn sloped gently upward to the big white house that seemed to brood benignly over the nearby smaller homes. The Toymaker did not get out at once, but sat scowling thoughtfully at the house. Then his face cleared as though a sponge had been wiped across it, and he moved quickly but gracefully out of the car and up the stone walk to the front door. When the door opened in answer to his knock, the Toymaker's expression was bland and benevolent and his bow was the essence of courtesy.

"I think you know me," he said without preamble. "I am a toymaker, chairman of an important committee of the Toymakers' Guild." He waited a moment, but when there was no response he continued. "I must apologize for breaking in on you so abruptly, but I—we—have been somewhat concerned about the action of the parents in turning their children against some of our toys. I know you are the leading parent in that move. May I talk with you about it?"

"Of course," said the Parent. "Come in."

Inside, seated comfortably in a big chair, the Toymaker plunged directly into his subject.

"I will not ask you to believe," he began with an air of frankness, "that we toymakers are not at all concerned with our own profits in this matter. We are, of course. But that is not our principal concern."

"What then is your principal concern?" inquired the Parent politely.

"With the well-being of this great land," replied the Toymaker explosively. "With freedom, and its defense. Yes, and with peace—lasting peace—and how it may be won. With the raising of youth to love their country and to put patriotism above self. With preparing young men to handle the clean, strong implements of war in order to preserve the highest values their forefathers have won and cherished."

"And how," asked the Parent, "do you propose to do these things?"

"By showing these children and young people in a very realistic way what war is and the purposes for which it is fought," said the Toymaker. "And, sir, we have the most ingenious, the most fascinating toys this Christmas season that the world has ever seen. Let me show you a few of them," and he began pulling toys from his capacious pockets.

"Here, for example," he said, fondly examining one, "is an aircraft carrier. See the sweet clean lines of it, the white scrubbed decks, and the tiny planes that actually take off, fly, and return with never a miss."

"An exquisite piece of craftsmanship," admitted the Parent. "I doubt that there is any of us who would not be fascinated by it."

"But that is not all," said the Toymaker eagerly. "Look now. Suppose you are giving this to the little boy who lives next door—there *is* a little boy next door, is there not?"

"There is."

"Now see! See this tiny figure on the bridge: the captain. Look at him closely."

The Parent looked, and recoiled.

"It is he," he whispered. "It is the little boy next door."

"Or any little boy to whom it is given," said the Toymaker proudly. "The most glamorous and heroic figure in the toy takes on the appearance of the child to whom it is given. Can any child resist it?"

He looked up, and then hurried on before the Parent could reply.

"Wait! I know what you are going to say. You think this is not the reality of war, but only the glamor. But we show the reality, too. Watch!"

As though by magic he produced a tank of water, cunningly painted and contrived to give the appearance of a large bay, and on it he placed the aircraft carrier and another ship, equally well-fashioned but with an ominous, evil quality about it, as hard to define as it was impossible to miss.

"This is the 'enemy,'" he said in a pleased aside. "Each toy has its 'enemy' counterpart, which takes on the appearance and flag of whatever country is at the moment our own land's most likely next enemy."

His hands moved swiftly, and the two ships began to move about the water, maneuvering for position, tiny guns firing, planes zooming above the ships with spurts of fire darting from their noses. The action continued for a few minutes; then the "enemy" sank, the planes returned to the carrier, and the scene quieted.

"Now," said the Toymaker, "see how realistic it is. See the carrier. Its masts are broken, three of its planes smashed up on the flight deck, and wounded and dead men strewn about the ship. Is that not realistic?"

"And where is the little boy next door—the captain?" asked the Parent, looking intently at the ship.

"He still stands on the bridge," said the Toymaker, a little uneasily. "His face is blackened, his eyebrows singed, and there are torn places in his uniform where bullets barely missed him, but he still stands bravely at his post."

"Look again," said the Parent, and now it was the Toymaker's turn to recoil.

"No!" he exclaimed angrily. "That will not do. Someone has made a mistake. The little boy—the captain—he is down. He is covered with blood. His arm is shattered; his face—No, it is a mistake!" He hurled the toy from him and sat breathing hard. "We could never hope to sell that," he muttered. "Someone made a mistake, a bad mistake!"

"WELL," SAID THE TOYMAKER after a while, "we must not let one misfortune spoil our talk. I have others I want to show you. For instance," he lifted a toy plane from the table, "here is a bomber, true to life in appearance, with a tiny atomic bomb loaded and ready to drop. Its pilot also resembles the little boy who gets the gift, and as he looks into this tiny bombsight he watches the bomb fall and fall and then strike, and he can see the giant mushroom of smoke and flame rise from the factory he hit, with twisted pieces of rail and machinery and pieces of building in it. There is no disguising the destruction there, is there?"

"Look into the bombsight," suggested the Parent.

The Toymaker hesitated a long moment before he put his eye to the sight. The little boy next door was piloting the big plane, tensely but proudly, and the bomb-bay doors had just opened. The little bomb fell and fell and then struck in the middle of a great city. The Toymaker watched, fascinated, as

the huge mushroom rose close and closer, but then his face went suddenly pale and his lips set grimly. For in place of the twisted pieces of wreckage were the twisted bodies of little boys and girls and of men and women, and their faces, distorted and agonized, were the faces of the little boy next door and of his brothers and sisters and his friends down the street and his parents and theirs.

"No!" cried the Toymaker violently. "No! It is sabotage."

He reached wildly for the next toy, and began talking rapidly.

"This is what we call our Intelligence Service toy—a simple thing. See—you look through it and you see some of the people of the 'enemy' country, and they are fierce and strange-looking, giants in size, loaded down with weapons. You see them hounding innocent men to slavery or death, beating women and children, and always looking threateningly in our direction. They are inhuman, bestial."

He put the glass to his eye, and then threw it from him with an angry cry. But in the moment he had looked, he had seen people much like any other people: little boys who were not the little boy next door and yet who oddly were; men and women and children different from the little boy's parents and friends yet very much the same. And the looks they sent in his direction were not often fierce and threatening, but more usually anxious and fearful.

"I do not know what has happened," said the Toymaker in a shaken voice, "but these are not what I thought them. They will not sell, and if they sold they would not do what they are supposed to do. You cannot persuade anyone that it is glamorous to be smashed to bits by a shell, or that it is courageous and noble to drop a bomb on sleeping children, or that decency and goodness can be preserved by slaughtering one's own brothers. Not when they see that the others *are* their brothers!"

"That," said the Parent in a voice before which the Toymaker blanched and fled, "is what I want all my children to see before it is too late."

"Choose Ye This Day"

"A poor time for Christmas"—be that as it may,
The season is on us, and will not turn back.
It comes because God is unwilling to stay
His proffered abundance for humankind's lack.

The times we lament could be changed at our will!
All calendars call this "the year of our Lord,"
But, halting, bewildered, we choose blindness still,
Instead of that light which was in the Adored.

—Elinor Lennen

MEETING A SERIOUS CONFLICT SITUATION WITH TECHNIQUES OF NONVIOLENCE,

They Came to Grips with Cicero

By HOMER A. JACK

THE RIOTING that took place this past July in the steamy atmosphere of racial hatred and fear in Cicero, Illinois, has become a matter for opprobrium throughout the world. In China and Japan and India, in France and Germany and Russia, this instance of intolerance in the country that has been preaching the gospel of democracy has been magnified and magnified to the detriment of America's reputation.

Inside our own country, as well, every such incident breeds its own poison in the people who take part in it, in the people who talk about it, in the people who suffer from it. And this is one of the fronts on which the FOR's belief in brotherhood has been put into practice. Two days after the news blared across the nation's newspapers and over the airwaves, Bayard Rustin and George Houser were there, to study the situation and work out constructive ways of dealing with it, and FOR members in the Chicago area, many of them already active in race relations, were working on it.

When the people of Cicero, this Christmas, pass by the 20-unit apartment building at 6132 West 19th Street, on the way to do their Christmas shopping or buy a turkey, there will be silence within, to remind all of man at war with man. The gaping windows have been boarded and there will be no Christmas trees this year, for it has been entirely vacated. As for Harvey Clark, a Negro bus driver, and his family, who thought they could live in lily-white Cicero, they will celebrate Christmas once again in Chicago's jam-packed ghetto. Clark has announced that they will move back into Cicero when he can be assured that they can move in safety—but now that looks at least another Christmas away.

The facts about the five-night riot in which Cicero indulged last July have been well told in the newspapers and magazines of the world.* It took the Illinois National Guard, with drawn bayonets and miles of hurriedly-strung barbed wire, to protect the apartment building from being literally torn apart brick by brick after Clark moved his furniture into the apartment he had legitimately rented.

Bungling Police

All but a handful of the more than 100 persons arrested during the riots for unlawful assembly were released in court for lack of evidence—due to the bungling police. A reluctant Cook County States Attorney ordered a special county grand jury investigation of

* See articles by Dr. Jack in the July 28th issue of *The Nation* and the November issue of *The Progressive* and by William Gremley in the August 25th issue of *America*.

the riot. After almost two months' investigation, the jury gave evidence that it subscribed to the theory that the murdered is more guilty than the murderer. It did not indict a single rioter. It did indict for conspiracy five persons, three of whom had something to do with renting the apartment to Harvey Clark and one of whom was the NAACP attorney retained by Clark after the initial violence. Late in October a criminal court judge threw out the conspiracy indictment as preposterous. A second indictment was more germane: against the police chief of Cicero for misconduct. The sheriff had testified that the Cicero police force turned their backs on the violence in its initial stages.

What caused the Cicero riots? Who organized the 10,000 white suburbanites who rioted? A special federal grand jury was convened in Chicago in November, after the county grand jury's fantastic decision had raised a hue and cry throughout the country, to attempt to answer these questions, partly with evidence collected by the FBI from eye-witnesses. While the riot may have been organized, there is sufficient reason to believe that what occurred could have occurred relatively spontaneously. The "threat" that a Negro would be rented an apartment in all-white Cicero had been noised about last spring, and aroused the feelings of a large section of that bigoted suburb. The community is well within the greater Chicago metropolitan area, where violence in the past has discouraged or at least delayed some Negroes from moving into some hitherto "white" neighborhood areas. Cicero residents remembered that their city administration had retained power in the 1950 elections on a racist platform, and probably assumed that the police would not vigorously enforce the law. Add up all these factors, and a riot of large proportions could emerge fairly spontaneously.

It was inevitable, of course, that once the riot began, it would attract outside interest. Many teen-agers living some distance from Cicero were lured into the area after seeing pictures of the rioting in the newspapers and over television. Political groups of the far left and right interested themselves. The Communists, as usual, tried to capitalize on the situation, and attempted to tie it to the Korean war. Even more evident was the White Circle League, a Chicago organization whose charter was withdrawn by the State of Illinois because of its violent racist, white-supremacy propaganda. The leader of the White Circle League not only mingled in the mob, but later circulated in police court his "tribute to the brave youth of Cicero." They "proved that the spirit of the Boston Tea Party still lives in our white race." He is currently attempting to recruit 50,000 Cicero residents to "keep Cicero white." His prescription is to have city officials pass an ordinance prohibiting the sale or rental of property to Negroes. Such zoning ordinances were declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court as early as 1917, but the idea still makes an appeal in Cicero.

What Can Be Done?

How can the racial sores in Cicero be healed? How can this distinct defeat for democracy be turned into some kind of a victory—not for Negroes, but for all democracy? These are the questions that were

faced by concerned Chicago-area civic organizations even before the violence had subsided. Walter White, national secretary of the NAACP, flew to Chicago during the riot and was driven through the streets of Cicero by friends when the sheriff refused to provide him with an escort. Also arriving in Chicago early were George Houser and Bayard Rustin of the staff of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Houser, a Methodist clergyman, went directly to Cicero to talk to Protestant ministers, most of whom he found falling a prey to the wild and false rumors that were rife, or else afraid to speak out at the risk of their jobs and personal safety. One result of his efforts, however, was that the Protestant ministers issued a statement condemning the violence. It was not a strong statement, but it was the only statement that religious leaders within the community issued while the situation was still tense. Initially, Rustin worked with the Negro leadership of greater Chicago and helped them plan immediate legal strategy, serving as a liaison between the short-handed Chicago NAACP and the 126 citizens' groups within the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination.

Even before the National Guard had been withdrawn from Cicero, Houser and Rustin had submitted to concerned Chicago area organizations an exhaustive plan—based on their careful study of Cicero and their experience with similar tension situations both North and South—for improving the attitude of the Cicero population and eventually re-introducing Negroes into the community without violence. This blueprint was carefully discussed and revised, and Rustin stayed in Chicago for two months to help put parts of the plan into effect. The American Friends Service Committee felt his presence and the work he was doing were so important that they chipped in to help with the expenses of keeping him there.

No Magic

Of course no plan, however well organized and carried out, will magically resolve this terribly complex and intense situation. It has to be done largely by the residents of Cicero (and neighboring Berwyn) themselves. "Outsiders" are suspect. The problem is to establish a beachhead of democracy among the existing residents of that beleaguered community. Social pressure, quite apart from prejudice, is so great that almost all residents find it apparently unwise and often unhealthy to speak up for justice. Once a nucleus of democracy-minded persons can be found, theirs is the difficult task of planting seeds of brotherhood in the various levels of Cicero life: church, business, fraternal, political, press. Although Cicero is composed of residents of Czech, Polish, Italian, and Dutch ancestry, it is not thought that this ethnic diversity offers any special obstacle. What is difficult is that many Ciceronians are participating in a drive in another direction. A Cicero Civic Commission has been formed and is spending $50,000 to tell the world what a peaceful community Cicero really is. The Commission has hired the services of an expert public relations firm to do this difficult job.

Is there a unique role that pacifists can play in Cicero? Mahatma Gandhi tried to absorb violence in similar tension situations both in

South Africa and India. It might yet be that a group of disciplined persons, nonviolent to the core, will have to do what Harvey Clark, the police departments of Cicero, Berwyn, and Cook County, and the National Guard, failed to do. In the spirit of understanding, forgiveness, and sacrifice, perhaps the pacifist can play a crucial role in restoring democracy and Christianity to Capone's erstwhile capital.

Comparison

"Christmas will cost you less, this year,"
Thus do the advertisements run,
But past the merchants' words, I hear
"God so loved . . . that He gave His Son."

By strife that drowns the angel-song,
By our possessive lust for things,
By our complacency at wrong,
We miss the Gift the season brings.

Christmas this year costs more, not less,
Than when Love made its daring start—
More patience with our blindedness
That scorns God's reconciling heart.

What Can You Expect?

In Israel, the people sought relief
From body's tyranny, from bitterness,
From spirit's habit of despair and grief—
And deeper wounds no naming could confess.

What expectation quickens thought or pace
In us, whose double-god is power and pride?
Supreme in luxury and favored place,
What CAN we ask for at the Christmastide?
O foolish heart, ask for the sense of need;
The Christ of Christmas then may come, indeed!

—Elinor Lennen

Memo: On UMT
From: The Staff
Title: IT MUST NOT PASS

WHATEVER YOU MAY HAVE heard, Universal Military Training is not yet a reality. The chances of defeating it are so-so, but the opportunity is just as clear as it ever was, Congress' action last spring in "passing" UMT legislation to the contrary notwithstanding.

What Congress actually did last spring was to authorize the formation of a commission to bring in recommendations for setting up UMT, and specify a timetable for action on its report. The Commission's report was turned in on the last possible day, October 29, and Congress has bound itself to act on it within forty-five legislative days after the new session begins meeting on January 8.

The Commission's report does not differ substantially from previous proposals. All 18-year-old boys would be called except the obviously unfit; there would be six months of direct training, and seven and a half years of reserve status, with periodic retraining and subject to call for full service at any time.

The Commission said nothing very new. The issues are the same, and the techniques are the same. Although it is clear that the adoption of UMT would not strengthen the country militarily for the immediate crisis—and, indeed, that it might not even be put into being, except on a token scale, until the crisis subsides—the anxiety and tension of the public is being mercilessly exploited in the interest of passage.

To what an extent this is being done was made dramatically clear recently by a member of Congress itself. Rep. Howard Buffett, of Nebraska, revealed in a recent newsletter that in the spring of 1948, while Congress and the country generally were led to believe that war with Russia was imminent, an off-the-record briefing of a few Congressmen was disclosing just the opposite. Observing that the "off-the-record technique is regularly used (and abused) in Washington," Rep. Buffett relates that Admiral Hillenkoetter, then Chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, "declared that signs of offensive war in the foreseeable future by Russia were completely lacking" and "detailed a mass of factual data from his secret sources indicating just the opposite direction." The Congressman adds that "the war drums beat so loudly" because "the Administration wanted to put through a draft law for compulsory military servitude."

Films for the Fascist Society

Another element that has entered the picture is a new series of 16-mm. motion picture films produced by Coronet Films under the title "Are you Ready for Service?" The fourteen films in the series are designed to be shown to high school youth, ostensibly to cope with the confusion and dismay that the prospect of military service has brought to them.

The films are skilfully done, avoiding the obvious and blatant in favor of more insidious techniques, but the concerned observer will see in them the pattern of America's developing fascism. They combine with a "frank" recognition of the disadvantages of military service an approach that takes compulsory military training and service for granted as a permanent aspect of American life, and that encourages the idea that the problems the country faces are primarily military problems susceptible only of military solution. Most peace organizations are urging their members to be alert to oppose the introduction of the films into local schools, and pointing out that at this point opposition to UMT can be focussed effectively right at home.

Vote by March Probable

Congress' timetable of forty-five legislative days means that UMT will probably come up for action by the latter part of March. Pointing out that this leaves plenty of time to mobilize real opposition, the National Council Against Conscription has launched an all-out campaign to defeat the measure. A whole new series of leaflets, dealing with compulsory military service and peace, security, health, democracy, crime, lawlessness, and "your boy" has been produced and is being distributed by the Council, which coordinates the opposition to conscription of peace, farm, educational, labor and religious groups.

Modern Christmas

Christmas came with a Baby's cry.
Hark! What is the sound I hear?
Angel carols from this dark sky?—
Hungry children have wailed in fear,
Dreading wind and the human voice.
Eagerness bitterly forfeited,
Birth has mocked them, denying choice;
Robbed of hope, they were better dead!

Christmas came with a little Child.
These are cold, and the night is wild.

—Elinor Lennen

News from the Peace Front

Hinshaw Banned from Ohio State Campus

Cecil Hinshaw, FOR member and Peacemaker, was denied permission to speak on the campus of Ohio State University under the auspices of the FOR group there. The banning was authorized by a ruling of the trustees, growing out of public reaction against the appearance there last July of Harold Rugg, social scientist whose iconoclastic attitude toward nationalism and "Americanism" as the American Legion might interpret it have aroused considerable controversy over the years. In September the trustees ordered that future outside speakers must be approved by the President, Howard L. Bevis. Bevis wrote to the student FOR group: "Your request for authority to issue an invitation to Dr. Cecil Hinshaw to speak on campus on October 8 is denied. Sincerely yours, Howard L. Bevis." In reply to protests, President Bevis amplified: "There is absolutely no reason for saying anything about a man we do not intend to invite on our campus." *The Peacemaker* commented that apparently Bevis "is a man of few words (one of which is NO)."

On October 14 Cecil Hinshaw spoke in Columbus at a meeting held in the house of a Methodist student group, to about 75 students, where he presented the pacifist position.

The trustees reaffirmed their ruling on October 19 in the face of widespread publicity, much of it adverse. Among those who had gone on record against it in public statements were Roman Catholic Bishop Michael J. Ready of Columbus and Methodist Bishop Hazen G. Werner. Since then the university student senate has passed a resolution asking that the "gag law" be rescinded and the faculty of the College of Education passed a resolution condemning the ruling and calling upon the trustees to rescind it. October 26 it was announced that Dr. Marvin Fox of the philosophy department, chairman of the Religion in Life Week, had resigned from that position, and it was questionable whether the Religion in Life Week could be held. Dr. Milton McLean, University Coordinator of Religious Activities, said the general feeling among the Week's planners was that "the ruling . . . will not achieve good but cause dissension and defeat the very purpose of the men involved."

Warning to COs: Watch Your Mail

Recently it was announced that COs would be classified in I-O rather than IV-E. Some local boards, the CCCO thinks, will probably use this reopening of classifications to assign men from IV-E into I-A or I-A-O. *Registrants should be certain to keep in close touch with their mail,* so that no appeal rights will be lost because of an assumption that the CO classification will continue.

Brokaw and Simon Sentenced Again

Amos Brokaw and Stephen Simon were each sentenced to two years in prison for refusal to report for induction, in the court of Judge William Steckler at Indianapolis on September 28. Amos Brokaw served for 18 months in CPS during the war, then walked out and received a six months' sentence. Under the Act of 1948 he was given a second sentence of four months. This is his third conviction, and he is out on bail pending appeal. Brokaw is married and has two children, and the family is completed by two sons of Mrs. Brokaw by a former marriage. The Muncie (Indiana) *Evening Press,* his hometown paper, gave his case an exhaustive and objective three-column spread recently, topped by a picture of the Brokaw family.

Stephen Simon is a student at Cornell University, and was recently married. He was one of the nine Indiana nonregistrants convicted in 1949, and served a three-month sentence then.

James Bolton, serving a year and a day sentence in Danbury, has refused to sign the waiver allowing prison officials to read and censor his mail, and is consequently unable to send or receive any.

The conviction of *Donald Lewis Wright* in California was set aside by Federal Judge James M. Carter, the same judge who sentenced him in June to three years in prison. Although Judge Carter had announced during Wright's trial that no CO would be given probation in his court unless he expressed a willingness to comply with the conscription law, he later granted the motion of Wright's attorney that the conviction be set aside. He then re-sentenced Wright to three years but suspended the sentence on condition that Wright work for the American Friends Service Committee during that time.

William N. Doty, FOR member and father of the four Doty brothers serving sentences in Ashland for refusal to register, has written an open letter entitled "American Freedom and Human Rights" to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath. In it he protests the imprisonment of conscientious objectors, and presents his pacifist position.

Immigration Bill Would Bar COs

A bill introduced in the Senate in August by Senator McCarran would bar the naturalization of all COs, including those who would serve as noncombatants in the armed forces and those who would accept only civilian service. Previous court decisions in the Girouard and Cohnstaedt cases had made it possible for alien COs to become citizens by swearing that they would "defend the Constitution," but not specifying that it had to be by force of arms.

Peace Council Founded in Boston

The Boston Area Peace Council, of which Russell Johnson, FOR-member and secretary of the New England AFSC, is Chairman, and FOR-member Marjorie Martin is secretary, founded last April, has developed a dramatics group, put on a weekend conference in Novem-

ber with Andre Trocme as the principal speaker, and was the organizer of the Boston Wheat-for-India campaign, sparked by Richard Chartier, FOR member who was studying at Harvard Divinity School, and who auctioned off bags of wheat in Harvard Square to raise $700. Chartier is also one of the originators of the idea of the dramatics group, called The Peace Players, which held tryouts on October 16 and 18 for actors and actresses (no experience necessary), and will put on plays with a peace message from time to time.

The Boston Area Peace Council is sponsored by the FOR, the Women's International League, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Council for the Prevention of War, and the Jewish Peace Fellowship. It will coordinate the work of existing peace organizations and initiate activities and services of peace education and action that require cooperative endeavor.

Relief Funds from Handiwork Sale

An extremely useful and effective way of raising money for European and Asiatic relief has been worked out by M. Imogene Sanborn, 2545 Valentine Avenue, New York 58, New York. The sale of handiwork donated for the purpose brings in funds which go for badly needed relief to the Foreign Section of the AFSC. If you knit, sew, crochet, paint or work in leather, give one of the products of your hands to the sale. If you are not a handicraftsman any gift which can be sold will be gratefully received by Miss Sanborn.

No Credit for CPS Service

COs who served in Civilian Public Service camps during World War II will not receive credit for it under the new draft law. Men who served in the armed forces are deferred on the basis of the time spent in such service but there is no such provision for COs in the law as Congress passed it, and Selective Service officials refuse to make any administrative ruling to provide for it. This means that men who served in CPS, no matter how long, but have no other basis for deferment, may be drafted when regulations for CO service are issued.

In FELLOWSHIP's November issue, the news item about the new CO classification said "Any registrant who was deferred on or after June 1, 1951, is eligible for the draft until his 35th birthday." It should be June 19 rather than June 1.

Vida Scudder Will Be 90

Miss Vida Dutton Scudder of Wellesley, Massachusetts, writer on literature and religion, professor emeritus of English Literature at Wellesley, and a member of the FOR since 1920, will be 90 years old on December 15. Her autobiography *On Journey* was published in 1937.

Prof. Roland E. Wolseley, director of religious journalism at Syracuse University and a member of the FOR Literature Committee, will take a year's leave of absence to go to India to organize and head the first journalism school there.

Peace Personalities Abroad

Pacifists Distribute Flyers in East Zone

The four pacifists, Dave Dellinger, Bill Sutherland, Art Emery and Ralph DiGia, who bicycled across Europe urging people of all nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain to refuse to participate in war or make munitions, have finished their mission. They waited almost six weeks in vain in Paris for permits for the Western Zone of Germany and for visas to go to Russia, then set off for the German border without any, to try to cross anyway. (The American Military Government, the State Department here informed their friends, would not give permission for them to enter West Germany. The matter of granting or not granting visas is supposed to be in the hands of the West German government, but apparently the AMG exercises a veto. The Russian officials simply stalled, in most cases.)

At Strasbourg, on the West German border, the four held a week-long fast. (They had received a good deal of sympathetic publicity in Paris, and had passed out leaflets along the way explaining their position.) Then, unable to enter Germany, they went around through Switzerland into Austria and held a fast on the Austrian border of Eastern Germany. Their leaflet, printed in English and Russian, was headlined "We have come to tell you of 'another USA'—a USA which says that the people of the world should lay down their arms."

The group arrived in Vienna about October 10, and went straight to Russian headquarters in the Hotel Imperial. To the huge surprise of the Viennese, they readily gained entrance, and had a number of conferences with Russian officers and conversations with Russian soldiers, being helped over language difficulties by German-speaking Russian officers. Although the consul was helpful, he said he could not issue visas without word from Moscow. This was apparently not forthcoming, and after waiting two weeks the four took matters into their own hands, crossed into the Russian zone of Austria, and distributed leaflets for a couple of hours in the streets of the city of Baden. They had an opportunity to present their message to the Austrian Peace Council, which is Communist dominated, but where many were evidently enthusiastic about their message and Communists did not dare openly to show opposition. A few days later they started back for Paris, to get passage to the United States. Publicity about the project in the European press had been so widespread that they were recognized everywhere on the streets practically as soon as they put in an appearance.

Dr. Iwao Ayusawa, Chairman of the Japanese FOR, a Quaker and a labor expert, has recently joined the staff of the new International Christian University in Japan. He will head the University's Institute of Labor Management Relationships and teach in the Social Science Division.

German Pacifists Face Persecution

German pacifists in both the West and East zones are increasingly subject to persecution and terrorization, and German FOR leaders feel that it may soon be impossible to carry on FOR work in the East Zone, with the distinct possibility that the organization there may be banned outright. From the West Zone Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze, a vice-chairman of the International FOR and active in the German FOR, reported that he was visited one night by two police, who had come to arrest him for his peace activity. He talked to their superior and the order was countermanded, but the whole thing, he believes, was to intimidate him, and they probably would not have gone through with the trial. The same thing had happened to four other pacifists.

A list of Communists published in Western Germany included the names of pacifists as well, without distinction, obviously to arouse public opinion against them. German newspapers, Siegmund-Schultze pointed out, are dependent for paper and money on the Occupation authorities, and most newspapers consequently have been plugging for the idea of a European army. It is now impossible for a member of the German peace cartel, which includes the FOR and other peace organizations, to be elected to parliament.

In the East Zone of Germany things are even more difficult for pacifists. In addition to the feeling that FOR work may not be able to continue and the group may be banned, members there have asked that the German FOR paper should not be sent them, or letters from the Western Zone.

Peace Front Among Buddhists

The Buddhists' Association for a Round Table Conference on Peace has been formed in Japan for the purpose of combining the strength of Buddhists in India, China and Japan in a "peace front." At a recent conference made up of prominent educators, officials and abbots of various temples, members of the association pledged themselves to help attain lasting world peace by "reconstructing our country, with the true and fundamental Buddhist spirit of benevolence as a guiding principle, into one where liberty, peace and equality prevail." The resolution goes on to say, "It is high time that we Buddhists firmly observed the creed of ahimsa, the basic principle of life, and condemned warlike violence as unpardonable crime. On this score we appeal to our fellow believers and the peoples of the world."

The Rev. Riri Makayama, a Buddhist monk, who was in attendance at the World Peace Meeting in India in 1950, reports that a considerable number of Buddhists have joined Shanti Sena (the Japanese satyagraha unit) and are training to offer nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience to attempts to rearm Japan.

The Heifers for Relief project, launched five years ago, has distributed animals valued at $1.5 million to those in need in twenty-one countries in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Social Scientists Form Peace Group

Pacifist social scientists, meeting at the National Conference of the FOR at Lakeside, decided to form the Association of Pacifist Social Scientists to interpret pacifism in the social sciences and to provide a rallying-point for peace-minded social scientists. Two of those who participated are Kenneth Boulding, economist, Quaker and author of the Nayler sonnets, now teaching at the University of Michigan, and Mulford Q. Sibley of the University of Minnesota. A similar organization founded by natural scientists, the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, has been doing an excellent job of publicity and job placement in its field. FOR-member Victor Paschkis is the chairman, and Albert Einstein a member of it.

Gandhians in India Overcome Communism

A pilgrimage of reconciliation led by Vinoba Bhave through Telengana in Hyderabad has been effective in bringing about peace negotiations between the Communists and the Nehru government. A dispatch from New Delhi to the New York *Times* ascribes this move for a peaceful settlement to "intensive police and military operations," and then adds, "a small party consisting of close associates of Gandhi and led by the saintly looking Acharya Vinoba Bhave, recently visited on foot every village in Telengana on a peace mission exhorting the people to abjure violence."

Such a journey represents no small undertaking on the part of India's satyagraha unit since Telengana, one of India's richest rice sections, has a population of between four and five million persons under Communist control.

The dispatch goes on to report that the walking tour of these peace missioners had a tremendous influence in winning farmers from the Communist fold and inspiring hundreds of rich landlords voluntarily to donate thousands of acres of surplus lands to a trust created by the government, which pledged itself in turn to distribute plots of land to peasants on an equitable and economic basis.

Fellowship Through Iron Curtain

The War Resisters International tells the story of a young teacher from a country behind the iron curtain who has just completed his two years of military service, at the beginning of which he declared himself to be a conscientious objector. During the whole period he was allowed to serve in office and hospital, and was never required to use arms. He was also permitted to remain a consistent vegetarian, and had opportunity to learn Esperanto. With this language he started a correspondence with persons in various countries, and through one of these correspondents learned of other COs in his own country with whom he was able to make contact.

Robert Lyon on September 1 began his duties as full-time secretary of the Greater Boston FOR.

Conscription in the Antipodes Resisted

New Zealand's Compulsory Military Training Law is being resisted by Maori youth who are generally refusing to register. The Maoris are the natives of New Zealand. The law itself is a modest one, taking 18-year olds only for three months of the first year and a mere token period in the two following years. Some young men are refusing to serve either for religious or humanitarian reasons, and in a very large majority of the cases are being granted complete exemption by the tribunal.

The new national service act was put into operation in Australia in August. This is the first time in twenty years that compulsory military training for the army, navy and air force has been called for in this country.

Pledge Brotherhood Planned for February

Following two successful campaigns, in 1950 and 1951, the FOR will conduct its third Pledge Brotherhood campaign during the month of February, 1952. The emphasis will be on a pledge by each participant to take one step toward racial brotherhood further than he or she has done before. For some people this might mean refusing to eat in certain restaurants, or to patronize other public facilities where Negroes are not accepted; others might put on campaigns in their own localities to abolish segregation in some particular place.

For further information write to Pledge Brotherhood, 513 West 166th Street, New York City 32.

Jottings

Mrs. Caroline Hoelgin of Alexandria, Virginia, has been denied unemployment compensation for a four-week period because as a pacifist she refused a job with the Army Special Weapons Division.

A group of some one hundred Methodists, at the FOR National Conference in September, held the first meeting of the proposed Fellowship of Methodist Pacifists. It was formally founded at a meeting in Grand Rapids in November.

Robert D. Bollinger, son of Dr. and Mrs. H. D. Bollinger of Nashville, was accidentally shot and killed in July while working on a summer job for a company that checks burglar and alarm systems.

SPECIAL

A subscription to Fellowship makes an excellent gift for friends and acquaintances concerned about the great problems of peace, and for ministers, teachers, writers, and editors generally. Only $2 per year; gift notifications will be sent where requested.

Books

No Beaten Track

Is Another World Watching?, by Gerald Heard. Harper, 1950. 182 pp. $2.75.

The Black Fox, by Gerald Heard. Harper, 1951. $3.00.

One of the most fascinating activities in the literature end of the pacifist movement these days is wondering what will be the next subject to attract the attention of Gerald Heard. The California mystic, one of the movement's most prolific, as well as most erudite, writers, possesses a roving curiosity that recognizes no limits in its explorations. The author of consistently esteemed works on prayer, on the relationship of science and history to God, on mysticism and the spiritual life, has now turned his talents to two new and surprising areas.

I read *Is Another World Watching?* on the Queen Mary en route to Europe. Since then my copy of the book has been tattered and dog-eared by the number of people who have borrowed it. No one of them but has expressed amused skepticism when first told about the book; no one of them but has been fascinated and shaken by the reading of it.

What Mr. Heard has done is to examine with his customary thoroughness all the evidence available about the so-called "flying saucers." Eliminating all the incidents in which there could be reasonable doubt as to the authenticity of the report or the reliability of the reporters, he has come up with a residue of solid and apparently unimpeachable evidence that makes the "explanations" offered for these phenomena sound absurd. For this reader, at least, the book seemed to offer two choices, of which the first, that Mr. Heard has deliberately fabricated the entire contents, is untenable. The second choice is quite simply that there have been aircraft observed fairly frequently that are unlike any current craft produced or operating on this planet and, hence, that it is only reasonable to conclude that they originate on some other planet.

The rest of Mr. Heard's book, consisting of speculation as to the nature of the creatures manning these "space ships" was less convincing to me but no less engrossing. Pacifists in particular will be taken by his argument that the evidence indicates that they are benevolently inclined.

The Black Fox is the most recent of Mr. Heard's books. It is described by the publishers, correctly but not adequately, as a "novel of the supernatural." As a story it has in it all the elements of tension and horror that anyone could want, but it also serves as the framework on which to hang the author's notions about the nature of evil and how it may be overcome.

Laid in an Anglican cathedral, it is the story of an ambitious canon

and the web of evil in which he becomes enmeshed through his jealousy and anger over the choice of another cleric of equal rank for promotion to the choice position, first of archdeacon, and then of dean. How he encompasses his rival's death, and then how the consequences of his deed, dogging his heels symbolically in the shape of a diseased black fox, are finally contained and overcome by the sacrificial love of his sister, make a story that I, at least, was unable to lay down until I had finished the last page.

—ALFRED HASSLER

Interpretation of History

Christianity and History, by Herbert Butterfield. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951. 146 pp., $2.75

The author of this book is Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge, and according to the publishers he is also "a confirmed Christian and a Yorkshire Methodist." The cover which conveys this remarkable bit of information does not make it clear whether the surpising thing is that a confirmed Christian should come from Yorkshire or that he should be a Methodist.

I shall be surprised if this book does not have a large sale, and though I am not clear as to whether Professor Butterfield is a pacifist, I heartily commend the book to pacifist readers. It is important in at least three respects.

In the first place, it is one of the finest and clearest statements I have ever read of the Christian view of life and outlook on history, and the reasons why an intelligent person should accept these. The book is an amplification of a series of broadcasts over the famous Third Program of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The language is clear and non-technical. The style is delightful.

In the second place, the author in his capacity as an expert in modern history makes some extremely valuable observations on contemporary problems. He says, for example, that "we have not sufficiently cultivated flexibility or examined the conditions under which now one nation and now another becomes liable to enter upon a career of aggression. That the whole popularly-accepted framework which we have given to the events of the last fifty years will be revised, and revised so radically that the quarrels between pro-Munich and anti-Munich will seem like the quarrels of Tweedledum and Tweedledee—is the safest prediction that can be made in regard to the next twenty years for anything in the whole range of historical science!"

Or again, "There is danger nowadays that one generation after another will be asked to lay itself on the altar of sacrifice, taught by the successive prophets of one utopia after another"—the context makes it clear that "the world made safe for democracy" is not excluded from this list—"will lead to a new heaven and a new earth in the time, shall we say, of their great-grandchildren. And in such circumstances the sacrifice of the present generation of real live men is definitive and irretrievable, while the utopia . . . is hypothetical at best. . . . We who talk so easily about what would happen if this or that power were the victor in a war, are only just beginning to measure the portentous and far-reaching consequences of war it-

self, and to see how it emerges as the chief solvent of the very order of things we wish to preserve."

Thirdly, he is as emphatic about the need of reckoning with human sin and corruption as any Niebuhrian or neo-orthodox theologian, but he draws a conclusion which one does not often encounter among them. They are likely to say that while under the absolute judgment of God all men and nations are equally sinful, nevertheless relatively the "other side" is more sinful than ours. Dr. Butterfield says that Englishmen point now at the French, then the Germans, then the Russians as "the seat of all the sin in the world," and sometimes "in a manner I should regard as degrading to the human soul."

He continues: "If we imagine the world as a world of generally righteous men with—at any given moment—only one specially wicked nation in it, we shall never envisage the seriousness of that situation with which Christianity sets out to deal." The problem of sin "has not been properly faced, if we merely take the occasion to indulge our passion against an enemy or our anger against the foreigner. . . . Let it be clear that we are all charged with things that we blush to remember." He counsels us to imagine that it is ourselves or some loved child of our own who is being accused. And if we think we behold "unforgivable sin," let us recall that "the sinful men in question are still not merely animals to be slaughtered, not mere insects to be smeared off the map."

It is difficult to stop quoting when practically every page throws unexpected light on our situation. Let me end with Professor Butterfield's observations that "the hardest strokes of heaven fall in history upon those who think they can control things in a sovereign manner. . . . It is agreeable to all these processes of history, therefore, that each of us should rather do the good that is straight under our noses.'" Let us not get the idea that "life is vain unless one can act through the central government, carry legislation, achieve political power and do big things."

—A. J. M.

Insights on Russia

The Russo-German Alliance: 1939–41, by A. Rossi. Beacon Press, 1950. 218 pages, $2.75.

Reading this account of how the Hitler-Stalin pact came into being, how it functioned to enable Nazi Germany to attack Poland in 1939 and to blitz Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France in the following year, and how and why it came to an end in June 1941 when Hitler turned upon Stalin, will not make the reader more hopeful of peace with Russia today. It will give him a revealing picture of the reason for the "peace" campaigns of the Kremlin and of the Communist International. It presents a lesson in power politics that is clearly and brilliantly written and which no student of the present international scene, and especially of Russian-American relations, can afford not to read.

The author was in the Twenties a leader of the Communist Party of Italy, but left it in 1929. He received two awards for his work in the Resistance movement in France during World War II. Another book by him, *A Communist Party in Action,* published by the Yale University Press in 1949, presents a brilliant analysis of the C. P. in France during that war.

The book here under review is based largely on official documents of Germany, Russia, and other governments, many of which were brought to light at the Nuremburg trials. One point that is thoroughly documented is how politicians use what appear to be the profoundest kind of ideological differences, such as those between nazism and communism, to whip up warlike passions when the power conflict requires it, and as readily discount these differences when that conflict draws them into partnership. When in 1939 the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed in Moscow, Stalin proposed the toast in honor of Hitler, saying: "I know how much the German nation loves its Fuehrer; I should therefore like to drink to his health." Ribbentrop, Hitler's foreign minister, in turn wrote one of his friends in Germany that in the Kremlin he felt as if he were among old Nazi Party comrades!

When, on the basis of a previous secret agreement, Russia and Germany had wiped out Poland and divided its territory between them, the Communist parties everywhere launched a "peace" campaign and denounced France, Britain, and the United States as warmongers for refusing to recognize the Nazi-Soviet conquest. Communist propaganda at that time said that the ideological war between democracy and fascism was ridiculous, Europe needed a strong Germany, etc.

Lest it appear that power politics is played only by totalitarian countries, we may note Rossi's revelation that in July 1940 no less a person than Sir Stafford Cripps approached Stalin with an offer to recognize Russia's rights in the Dardanelles and her leading role in the Balkans, if Stalin would break with Hitler. At that time these British advances were rudely repulsed.

It is important because of contemporary developments in the Middle East and especially Iran, to observe that, as Rossi shows, when Hitler was discussing with Stalin in 1941 the terms on which Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan might divide the world, Stalin made it clear that "the area south of Batunn and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf is recognized as the centre of gravity of the aspirations of the Soviet Union." This is a very strong and explicit statement, and there is every reason to believe that it is still the basis of Russian policy in the Middle East.

Finally, Rossi's study makes it indisputably clear that Stalin in 1941 wanted desperately to maintain the alliance with Nazi Germany—up to the moment almost when German troops marched into Russia, grain from that country was still moving into Germany—and that "it was Germany, therefore, who forced Russia into . . . an unwilling alliance with the Western democracies . . . Russia joined the democratic front in June, 1941, simply and solely because Germany forced her to do so at the point of the sword."

—A. J. Muste

IN BRIEF

A Treasury of Kahlil Gibran. More writing by the author of *The Prophet,* translated by Anthony Rizcallah Ferris. 420 pp., 1951. $3.95.

For Children

The Friendly Story Caravan, Edited by Anna Pettit Broomell. J. B. Lippincott, 1950. 279 pp. $2.75.

A book of stories for children—about peace—is a rarity in these days of concentrating on adult formulas like world government, universal disarmament, nonviolent resistance. This collection, designed and planned for slightly older boys and girls than the author's earlier books, will help build the foundation of peace at the right place—the mind and heart of a child. In these stories one can literally feel the courage of the old Quakers confronting violence, of Gandhi walking smilingly toward the mob who were stoning him, of an 8-year-old who makes friends with a Negro boy despite the antagonism of parents and playmates. Here is the power of love and nonviolence—and it marches quite as dramatically as any book about soldiers right into a child's imaginative world.

—JOHN SWOMLEY

Free and Inexpensive Materials on World Affairs, by Leonard S. Kenworthy. 112 pp., 1951. $1.00, 12 for $10.

An exhaustive bibliography particularly for the use of teachers, but valuable for parents and others. Its main sections cover world problems such as war; atomic energy; international trade; population; health; United States foreign policy; regions of the world and individual countries, (which includes practically every country in the world); and the United Nations and world government.

Developing World-Minded Children: Resources for Elementary School Teachers, by Leonard S. Kenworthy. 36 pp., 1951. 30c each; 10 or more 25c each.

Includes a listing of books, pamphlets and articles for teachers and books, films, slides, maps, music, games, etc., for children.

Swimming Hole, by Jerrold Beim. Illustrated by Louis Darling. Morrow, 1951. Unpaged, $2.00.

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